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Message Text

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FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
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AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 02333

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O.11652:GDS
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SWAPO DEMOCRATIC MANIFESTO

REF: USUN 2271 (NOTAL)

1. IN BRITISH REPORT (REFTEL) ON JUNE 1 CONVERSATION BETWEEN UK ASSISTANT UNDER SECRETARY MANSFIELD AND ANDREAS SHIPANGA, SHIPANGA IS QUOTED AS STATING THAT HE
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AND OTHER LIKE-MINDED NAMIBIANS INTEND TO REGROUP AS "SWAPO DEMOCRATS", A TERM WHICH SHIPANGA SAID WAS ALREADY BEING USED. MISSION RECEIVED JUNE 7 THE MAY ISSUE OF THE NAMIBIAN REVIEW: A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY SOUTH WEST AFRICAN AFFAIRS. THE REVIEW CONTAINS THE TEXT OF A DOCUMENT RELEASED IN STOCKHOLM ON MAY 1 BY THE SWAPO DEMOCRATIC WORKING COMMITTEE WHICH "CLAIMS TO SPEAK FOR

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THE APPROXIMATELY TWENTY PERCENT OF THE EXTERNAL WING OF SWAPO NOW CLASSIFIED AS 'DISSIDENT'". THE DOCUMENT, (FULL TEXT FOLLOWS PARA THREE) IS ENTITLED THE SWAPO DEMOCRATIC MANIFESTO AND CALLS FOR: (A) SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL; (B) THE CONVENING OF A SWAPO CONSULTATIVE CONGRESS TO REVIEW SWAPO'S PRE-SENT "ISOLATED" POSITION OF OPPOSITI ON TO THE PROPOSAL. THE DOCUMENT LAMBASTS SAM NUJOMA AS CORRUPT, INEFFECTIVE, ABUSIVE, AND COWARDLY AND ADDS: "THERE CAN NOW NO LONGER B BE ANY DOUBT THAT THE NUJOMA LEADERSHIP IS AFRAID TO TEST ITS POPULARITY AT THE POLLS, IS AFRAID TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IT HAS EARNED THE RIGHT TO BE REGARDED AS THE SOLE AND AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN MASSES AND THAT IT WILL DO EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER TO SABOTAGE THE ORDERLY TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE IF SUPREME AND COMPLETE CONTROL OVER THE COUNTRY IS NOT AUTOMATICALLY PLACED IN ITS HANDS."

2. THE NAMIBIAN REVIEW, A FIFTEEN TO TWENTY-PAGE MIMEO-GRAPHED MONTHLY, IS PUBLISHED IN SPANGA, SWEDEN BY THE SWEDISH-NAMIBIAN ASSOCIATION. THE EDITOR AND SECRETARY OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD ARE DR. KENNETH ABRAHAMS AND OTTILIE ABRAHAMS, HIS WIFE, RESPECTIVELY. IN A MARCH 28 LETTER TO AMB YOUNG PLEADING FOR US ASSISTANCE IN OBTAIN-ING SHIPANGA'S RELEASE, OTTILIE ABRAHAMS DESCRIBED HER-SELF AND HER HUSBAND AS LONG-TIME FRIENDS AND POLITICAL

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ASSOCIATES OF ANDREAS SHIPANGA AND AS "EXECUTIVE MEMBERS OF SWAPO IN EXILE". (OTTILIE ABRAHAMS IS ALSO A NIECE OF CHIEF KAPUUO.) SHE EXPLAINED THAT SHE AND HER HUSBAND HAD BEEN EXPELLED FROM SWAPO IN 1963 FOR "DARING TO CRITICIZE SAM NUJOMA" BUT THAT THEY HAD NEVER ACCEPTED THE EXPULSION BECAUSE IT WAS DONE "UNCONSTITUTIONALLY".

3. HERE FOLLOWS THE FULL TEXT OF THE SWAPO DEMOCRATIC MANIFESTO AS PUBLISHED IN THE NAMIBIAN REVIEW: BEGIN TEXT. END CONFIDENTIAL.

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED.

- THE SWAPO(D) MANIFESTO

- (THIS DOCUMENT WAS RELEASED IN STOCKHOLM
- ON THE 1 MAY 1978 BY THE SWAPO(DEMOCRATIC)
- WORKING COMMITTEE WHICH CLAIMS TO SPEAK
- FOR THE APPROXIMATELY 20 OF THE EXTERNAL
- WING OF SWAPO NOW CLASSIFIED AS "DISSIDENT".
- IT DOES NOT, OF COURSE, NECESSARILY REPRE-
- SENT THE VIEWS OF THE SWEDISH-NAMIBIAN

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- ASSOCIATION.)

1. ON FRIDAY THE 28 APRIL, SPEAKING AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, SAM NUJOMA, PRESIDENT OF SWAPO, REJECTED THE PROPOSALS FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION WORKED OUT BY THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. IN DOING SO THE SWAPO LEADER-SHIP HAS PLACED ITSELF IN THE POSITION WHERE IT IS THE MAIN OBSTACLE ON THE ROAD TO NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE, PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED FOR THE 31 DECEMBER 1978. THESE PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE COLONIAL POWER, SOUTH AFRICA, BY THE CHURCHES IN NAMIBIA, BY THE DEMO-CRATIC TURNHALLE ALLIANCE AND BY THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT. THESE THREE LATTER GROUPS REPRESENT WITHOUT
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A DOUBT THE MAJORITY OF THE INHABITANTS OF NAMIBIA. THE

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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

PROPOSALS ALSO HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE WESTERN NATIONS,
AND SEVERAL AFRICAN STATES INCLUDING THE FRONTLINE STATES
WHO HAVE BEEN MOST INTIMATELY CONCERNED WITH THE NAMIBIAN
QUESTION.
THE ISOLATED POSITION OF SWAPO IS A LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE
OF THE TOTALLY NEGATIVE ATTITUDE DISPLAYED BY THE
NUJOMA LEADERSHIP TOWARDS THE NEGOTIATIONS OVER
NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE SINCE THE COMMENCEMENT OF THESE
NEGOTIATIONS TWO YEARS AGO. THERE CAN NOW NO LONGER BE
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ANY DOUBT THAT THE NUJOMA LEADERSHIP IS AFRAID TO TEST
ITS POPULARITY AT THE POLLS, IS AFRAID TO DEMON-
STRATE THAT IT HAS EARNED THE RIGHT TO BE REGARDED AS THE
SOLE AND AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN MASSES
AND THAT IT WILL DO EVERYTHING IN ITS POWER TO SABOTAGE
THE ORDERLY TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE IF SUPREME AND
COMPLETE CONTROL OVER THE COUNTRY IS NOT AUTOMATICALLY
PLACED IN ITS HANDS. THE DAY OF RECKONING HAS DAWNED AND
THE NUJOMA LEADERSHIP HAS RETREATED IN THE MOST COWARDLY
FASHION.

2. SWAPO(D) PLEDGES ITS LOYALTY TO THE ORIGINAL PRINCI-
PLES AND PROGRAM OF THE MOVEMENT, THEREFORE, WE CHALLENGE
THE AUTHORITY OF NUJOMA TO TAKE SUCH A DRASTIC STEP
WITHOUT A FRESH MANDATE FROM THE SWAPO MEMBERSHIP. WE
DOUBT THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE SWAPO MEMBERS ARE ACTUALLY
IN FAVOUR OF THE REJECTION OF THE PROPOSALS. IN VIEW OF
THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS DECISION, NOT ONLY TO SWAPO BUT
ALSO TO NAMIBIA AND ITS FUTURE, THERE IS AN URGENT NEED
FOR ALL SWAPO MEMBERS TO REVIEW THE POLICY OF THE NUJOMA
LEADERSHIP AND TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER THIS LEADERSHIP IS
REALLY ACTING IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE ORGANIZATION
AND OF THE NATION. IT IS THE DECISION OF SWAPO(D) THAT
THE PROPOSALS SHOULD BE ACCEPTED AND THAT SWAPO SHOULD
PARTICIPATE IN THE FORTHCOMING GENERAL ELECTIONS.

3. THE LAST LEGAL SWAPO CONSULTATIVE CONGRESS WAS HELD
IN TANGA, TANZANIA FROM 26 DECEMBER 1969 TO 3 JANUARY 1970.
A FURTHER CONGRESS SHOULD HAVE BEEN HELD AT THE MOST FIVE
YEARS LATER, THAT IS, IN 1974. WHEN THIS MATTER WAS
RAISED IN 1975 AND EARLY 1976 THE NUJOMA LEADERSHIP, FACED
WITH MOUNTING EVIDENCE OF ITS INEFFICIENCY AND CORRUPTION,

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REACTED BY IMPRISONING UP TO 1,500 SWAPO MEMBERS IN
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ZAMBIA AND ELEVEN SENIOR SWAPO LEADERS IN TANZANIA. THESE
11 ARE STILL IN DETENTION AND THEIR FUTURE IS HIGHLY
UNCERTAIN IN VIEW OF SEVERAL RECENT AMBIGUOUS AND CONTRA-
DICTORY STATEMENTS BY THE TANZANIAN AUTHORITIES.
EVER SINCE 1963 ALL ATTEMPTS TO QUESTION THE POLICIES OF
THE SWAPO LEADERSHIP HAVE RESULTED IN ARBITRARY EXPULSIONS
FROM THE ORGANISATION. NONE OF THESE EXPULSIONS HAVE
EVER BEEN CONFIRMED BY A SUBSEQUENT CONGRESS WHICH IS
THE SUPREME ORGAN IN SWAPO. THUS THESE EXPULSIONS
CANNOT BE REGARDED AS LEGAL AND VALID ACCORDING TO
ACCEPTED DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS,
IN CONCORDANCE WITH THE INCREASING DISSATISFACTION WITH
THE NUJOMA LEADERSHIP, THE NUMBER OF EXPELLED MEMBEES
("DISSIDENTS") HAS INCREASED BY LEAPS AND BOUNDS. TODAY
NO LESS THAN 20 OF THE SWAPO MEMBERSHIP OUTSIDE
OF NAMIBIA BELONG TO THIS CATEGORY. UP TO NOW DISSIDENTS
HAVE BEEN SCATTERED FAR AND WIDE AND ARE TO BE FOUND IN
AMERICA, ENGLAND, EUROPE, SCANDINAVIA, INDIA AND MANY
AFRICAN STATES. ALTHOUGH MEMBERS HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FOR
A NUMBER OF DIFFERING REASONS ALL DISSIDENTS HAVE THIS
MUCH IN COMMON - LOYALTY TO SWAPO AS AN ORGANISATION OF
THE PEOPLE AND A DESIRE THAT SWAPO BE RE-ORGANIZED ALONG
DEMOCRATIC LINES.
HOWEVER, THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL DISPERSAL HAS HITHERTO
REDUCED ANTI-NUJOMA MEMBERS, AS A GROUP, TO A SITUATION
OF POLITICAL IMPOTENCE.

4. THE SWAPO(D) WORKING COMMITTEE HAS BEEN IN CLOSE
AND REGULAR CONTACT WITH MEMBERS EXPELLED BY SAM NUJOMA
FOR THE PAST YEAR, AS WELL AS ESTABLISHING CONTACT WITH
DISSATISFIED MEMBERS OF SWAPO INSIDE NAMIBIA ITSELF. OUT
OF THIS CORRESPONDENCE HAS EMERGED AN OVERWHELMING URGE
TO RE-GROUP AND TO COALESCE INTO A DISTINCT FACTION SO

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

THAT EFFORTS DIRECTED AT RESCUING SWAPO FROM THE INCOMPE-
TENT AND MEGALOMANIAC NUJOMA LEADERSHIP MAY BETTER BE
CO-ORDINATED.

5. MEMBERS OF THE SWAPO(D) FACTION RAISE THE FOLLOWING
DEMANDS:
A) THAT ALL LOYAL SWAPO MEMBERS WHO HAVE BEEN ILLEGALLY
AND UNCONSTITUTIONALLY EXPELLED BY RE-INSTATED FORTHWITH,
B) THAT MEMBERS OF SWAPO HELD IN DETENTION CAMPS IN
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ZAMBIA AND IN PRISON IN TANZQNIA BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY.
THEY SHOULD RECEIVE ASSISTANCE SHOULD THEY WISH TO
RETURN HOME AND THEY SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE
FULLY IN ALL ASPECTS OF SWAPO WORK. MEMBERS OF THE CENTRA
CENTRAL EXECUTIVE MUST BE RE-INSTATED IN THEIR PREVIOUS
OFFICIAL POSITIONS,
C) THAT A SWAPO CONGRESS BE HELD, OPEN TO ALL MEMBERS,
WITH REPRESENTA6IVES FROM ALL FACTIONS, THAT IS, THOSE
INSIDE NAMIBIA AS WELL AS THOSE ABROAD,
D) THAT THIS CONGRESS PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO
I) THE FUNCTIONING OF SWAPO, IN ITS ENTIRETY,
SINCE 1969,
II) THE ABUSE OF AUTHORITY WHICH HAS LED TO
THE IMPRISONMENT AND DETENTION OF SOME 1,500

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MEMBERS, AS WELL AS THE DEATHS WHICH HAVE
OCCURED IN CONNECTION WITH THESE DETENTIONS,
III) MISUSE OF PARTY FUNDS AND CORRUPTION WITHIN
CERTAIN SECTIONS OF THE LEADERSHIP,
IV) THE ARMED STRUGGLE, PROBLEMS THAT HAVE ARISEN
WITHIN THE GUERRILLA FORCES IN THE PAST AND THE
ROLE OF PLAN IN THE FUTURE,
V) THE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE WESTERN NATIONS AND
AN APPRAISAL OF THE STRATEGY ADOPTED
THUS FAR,
VI) AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE FORMATION OF AN
ELECTORAL ALLIANCE WITH THE NAMIBIAN
NATIONAL FRONT AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS
CREATING A POWERFUL AND UNBEATABLE FORCE FOR
PROGRESS.

6. THE SWAPO(D) WORKING COMMITTEE DOES NOT EXPECT THE NUJOMA LEADERSHIP TO PAY ATTENTION TO THESE DEMANDS NOR TO ACCEDE TO THE HOLDING OF A DEMOCRATIC
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CONGRESS. IT THUS INTENDS, ONCE IT HAS ESTABLISHED ITSELF WITHIN NAMIBIA AS A VIABLE FORCE TO ENTER INTO SUCH AN ALLIANCE WITH THE NNF AND PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS UNDER THE BANNER OF SWAPO(D). ONE NAMIBIA, ONE NATION* END TEXT. YOUNG

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